6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

114 In questions of relationship they never use the word *ete* (true) since they call their
171 father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *xeruba xemonhangara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *xeraira xeremimonhanga* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *xeremireco ete*, but simply *xeremireco* or *xeracig* "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *xemenete* "real husband," but simply *xemena* or *xemembira ruba* "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *xeremireco ete*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[2]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikuara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikuara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikuara are asked to point out the real status
851 of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daugh-
842 ter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[3]

114 The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of
171 marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

> Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Taragoaj, an important chief of the village of Jaribiatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[4]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: " . . . because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters. . . ."[5] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

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[2] *Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, I 2da Seria), p. 259.

[3] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 316-317.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocoza in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.